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LETTER

M/X/X From a MEMBER of the
HOUSE of COMMONS

TO A *Hist.*

True-born ENGLISHMAN *42/19*

OF THE

HOUSE of LORDS;

Anatomizing, Dissecting and Deli-
neating some Late Measures.

With proper

REMARKS

On the much

Applauded TREATY of Vienna.

L O N D O N :

Printed for C. Davies, near Temple-Bar, and
sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country.
Price One Shilling.

LETTER

From a Member of the

House of COMMONS

TO A

Three-hundred Englishman

OF THE

House of LORDS

Introducing and Debating
the Measures



REMARKS

W. 3710

Appended TREATY of Vienna

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T H E INTRODUCTION.

THE late celebrated Treaty of *Vienna* has made so much Noise in the World, and is of so much Importance to every *True-born Englishman*, that I hope it will be forgiven me if I make some Animadversions thereon, and plainly demonstrate to the meanest Capacity how *honourable* and *advantegous* it is likely to prove to *Great Britain*.

And that I shall do from undeniable Proofs: First, it must certainly be good, because all the *Courtiers* approve it. Secondly, It must be good, because all the *Merchants* condemn and dislike it. Thirdly, It must certainly be good, because *Dunkirk* and the *Ports* lately erected near *Gibraltar* are effectually to be demolished, and the Colony of *Santa Lucia* withdrawn: And, fourthly and lastly, it must certainly be good for one unanswerable Reason, that is, because it has saved a certain *Gentleman's Bacon* the last Session of Parliament;

iv INTRODUCTION.

ment; let him look to it the next, if, like a Pudding, it should not prove to be so in the eating.

However, thus much at least one may venture to say of it, that it is at least as good as any Treaty which *Great Britain* has made for some Years, not excepting even the famous Treaties of *Seville* and *Hanover*. And here I cannot help observing, that it must certainly be a great Comfort to every *True Briton*, to consider how much this Nation is altered for the better of late Years. *Old England* formerly had the Name of being little better than a Bully, who, if any of her Neighbours had any Squabbles or Differences would always be thrusting her Head into the Quarrel, and would be sure make one, if she was not the Principal. Thus, according to this wise Principle, she fell upon the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, and bang'd them so, that it has cost her half a dozen Treaties by the way of *Plaisters*, to make it up and heal those Breaches, tho' she had originally no Business to trouble herself with them. But now, thank Heaven, we are not so fond of Fighting, but will sooner take two Blows than strike one; that is, instead of bullying our Neighbours we sit still tamely, and suffer them to bully us every one in their Turns without Resentment. Such, to the Honour of *Great Britain*, are our present *Pacifick Measures*.

And thus, the Colony of *Virginia* is now a flourishing and happy Country, and the *Caribbees* are no longer a formidable Nation, but a harmless and obedient People. And thus, the *West-Indies* are no longer a dangerous and uncertain Region, but a safe and profitable one. And thus, the *East-Indies* are no longer a distant and remote Country, but a near and accessible one. And thus, the *South-Sea* is no longer a vast and unexplored Ocean, but a narrow and well-known Strait. And thus, the *North-Sea* is no longer a cold and barren Region, but a warm and fertile one. And thus, the *British Empire* is no longer a weak and divided Nation, but a strong and united one. And thus, the *British Nation* is no longer a poor and needy People, but a rich and powerful one. And thus, the *British Crown* is no longer a weak and feeble Throne, but a strong and glorious one. And thus, the *British People* are no longer a poor and oppressed Nation, but a rich and free one. And thus, the *British Empire* is no longer a weak and divided Nation, but a strong and united one. And thus, the *British Nation* is no longer a poor and needy People, but a rich and powerful one. And thus, the *British Crown* is no longer a weak and feeble Throne, but a strong and glorious one. And thus, the *British People* are no longer a poor and oppressed Nation, but a rich and free one.

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LETTER, &c.

S I R,



S there can be nothing more beneficial to the Subjects of *Great-Briton*, than a safe, durable, and glorious Peace, it will naturally follow that such a Peace must be desirous and acceptable to them, especially if they have any Regard to their own real Interest in particular, or the Good and Prosperity of their Country in general.



Trade

Trade has been in a languishing Condition for some Years past ; our Merchants have been great Sufferers ; nor can we yet form any Judgment whether the Distemper be come to a *Crisis*. Thus we fluctuate between Hope and Despair ; we have been long boy'd up with the Expectation of a Peace, which we thought had been determin'd by the *wise, prudent* and *salutary* Steps that were taken at the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Seville*. But, alas ! what were the Effects of that Treaty ? Instead of establishing the Tranquility of *Europe*, it laid a Foundation for blowing up the Coals of War in every Part of the Christian World. The dismal View of the many thousand *German Troops* in *Italy*, stagnated our Trade to the *Mediterranean* ; nay many of the *Italians* themselves did

did not judge it prudent to continue in a Country, which was threaten'd with being the Seat of War. This was one of the Consequences of the Treaty of *Seville*, which, instead of restoring our Trade to its Strength and Vigour, caused a vast Decrease in both ; and the only Method that could now be taken, to prevent the War in *Italy* from bursting into an open Flame, was to find out some Means, whereby the Emperor might be appeased, and the King [or Queen] of *Spain* made easy, in regard to the eventual Succession of *Don Carlos* to the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, by introducing 6000 *Spanish* Troops.

This difficult Task has been attempted, and crowned with Success, by the Conclusion of a Peace with the Emperor, if we may give Credit

Credit to the Accounts we have received from abroad : I willingly would, but pardon me, Sir, if I cannot seriously congratulate you upon the Peace of *Vienna*; for as few Men can tell how the Treaty is Circumstantiated, and those few keep it close in their Bosoms, we may pretend to shoot at the Mark, but it is a thousand to one if we hit the White. We must therefore remain in suspense, and content ourselves with such Scraps as our Superiors will give us, till they shall be pleased to communicate what little more they shall think proper.

In the mean Time as the Tenor of some of the Articles are come to Light, which I presume are genuine, accept my unbyas'd Thoughts and Judgment upon them, which are as follow.

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The first Article of the Treaty of *Vienna*, as mention'd in the *Daily Post Boy* of the 10th of *March*, (which is a Paper of good Credit) comprehends in Substance two Parts, viz. That there shall be a general Peace and Tranquility between the contracting Powers ; and secondly, That they shall mutually guarrantly the respective Territories which they now actually possess, or may hereafter possess.

This is a Preliminary to the subsequent Articles, and the primary Part is, and has always been the *Basis* upon which every Treaty is establish'd. How formal soever this may appear, Sir, to you, I cannot tell, yet I would willingly persuade myself, that this Foundation is built upon a Rock, but shall not pretend to determine whether it be so
solid

solid as I heartily wish it might be, since there is no time specify'd for its Continuance. As the Words are express'd in indefinite Terms, we must trust to Providence to guard us against the capricious Humours of Princes and States, if we expect a lasting Peace. A *Quam diu*, in my humble Opinion, is wanting ; and such a Question might not be improperly apply'd ; and therefore had any time been limited for the Preservation of the Peace, which would have been a very material Point in this grand and important Affair, then an Infringment of this Peace, let it come from what Quarter soever, might with the strictest Justice be charg'd upon the Person who should first violate the reciprocal Engagements.

I am very well aware of an Objection that will be made against my Sentiments now laid down, viz. That if any time had been limited, it could not then be call'd a *Peace*, but rather a *Truce* ; to which I answer, that a *Truce* for a Number of Years certain, is surely more eligible than a *Peace* without any Limitation of time, subject as I observed before, to the fickle Temper of a Prince or Potentate, who may break it, when it shall happen not to square with their Interest. We have had so many Instances of Peace concluded upon *bona fide*, even in our Memory, and yet *broke* upon the most frivolous Pretences, that I am persuaded, good Sir, a Repetition of them would be tedious to you, and (I may say,) needless. All that I shall add farther on this

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Head is, that I humbly beg leave to observe, that they who stand by, very often behold the Oversight of those, who are accounted the most dextrous Artists in *playing the Game*, tho' they themselves are not *profest Gamesters*: and I could enforce this particular in the late Treaty of *Utrecht*, concerning the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, but presume you are aware of the Omission, that ought to have been incerted.

As to the Second Part of the first Article, it seems to carry a good Face at the first View; and how specious soever it appears in Favour of Us, yet I am apprehensive that upon a strict Examination, it is designed not so much for the Interest of *England*, as for some foreign Dominions. Mistake me not, Sir, nor let me be understood as if I intended

ded that his Majesty's *German* Territories ought not to be guaranty'd as well as any other Prince's ; for I think, nay I affirm that they ought to be.

Englishmen will dabble in Politicks, having a Right to deliver their Opinions freely, provided that they do not transgress the Rules of Law and good Manners. — It would have given me great Satisfaction, and I believe, Sir, that you and many of his Majesty's good Subjects would have been pleas'd if the last Words of the first Article had been omitted intirely, viz. *or may hereafter possess.* As it is not the Interest of *Great Britain*, I believe that she never will be desirous of making new Acquisitions ; for as we are bounded by the Sea, and our chiefest Happiness and Security consists in our Ma-

ritime Power, such Acquisitions would be attended with more Expences annually, and many other incident Accidents, which do not occur at present, than the intrinsic Value of them would amount to; and therefore are more proper for some Potentate on the Continent, which I take to be the Design, couched under those Words, which have so great a Latitude in them. From hence then it is evident, that we can reap no Benefit from the Conclusion of the first Article, but we pin ourselves down to guaranty the new Conquests, that the other contracting Powers shall make, (Right or Wrong?) and also of those Princes and States, who shall enter into the present Treaty within the space of six Months.

Much

Much more might be said upon this Topic, but as I may have Occasion to take Notice of it hereafter, I will no trespass on your Patience at this Juncture, but shall give you my further Thoughts on the Articles of Peace, as they shall occur to me.

Concerning the second Article; I must ingeniously acknowledge that I cannot comprehend what is meant by the Words *Pragmatical Sanction*; the former of which does not seem so *fair* and *smooth* in our *English* Acceptation of the Word, as it may be understood or intended to import in the Sense it is taken abroad. But be that as it will, *Great-Britain* and the States-General are mutually obliged to guaranty to the Emperor the Pragmatical Sanction of his Territories, as it is recited at large in the

the present Treaty : So that Time (it is hoped) will explain to us what at present appear intelligible to most Men.

To give you some Diverſion, Sir, permit me to digreſs a little from my Subject, and entertain you with a Tale of two *Irish-men*, who met by Accident in *Westminſter-Hall*. Complements having paſſed on both Sides according to the *Hibernian* Cuſtom, one asked what was the Reaſon that ſuch a Crowd of People ſtared ſo much on the good Woman, with the Mantle about her Shoulders? The other answered the good Woman as he called the Perſon, who ſate on the Bench, was a Judge, and that the People were *Circumventing* him. How! reply'd the Queſtioniſt, *Circumventing*? what is the meaning of that Word? Why truly

truly says the other, it is the same thing as if I should *circumvent* you. Ay! said his Friend, is it so? then let you and I *circumvent* a Tankard of good Ale.—Other Men may say what they please, but I will not presume to think that either of the *Teagues* was *pragmatical*, even in the Sense of the Word that we vulgarly take it.

By the Third Article it appears, that the Emperor not only consents to the Introduction of six Thousand *Spaniards* into the respective States of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placenza*, but promises moreover to use his Sovereign Authority likewise for the Execution of this Article. Here a very material Point is obtained, by which the Allies of *Seville* are enabled to perform what had been stipulated

lated in that Treaty in favour of *Don Carlos*, without having recourse to Arms, or the Payment of any Subsidy, to enforce their Engagement; and no doubt but this will be acceptable News to the Queen of *Spain*. Nay, even *Great Britain* will gain some Advantage by this Concession; for no Pretence can now be raised for keeping the 12000 *Hessians* any longer in our Pay; so that we are discharged from that heavy Pressure; And it is to be hoped, that since the Obstacle is removed, which obstructed the Measures *Spain* had taken, the *Indulto* will be quickly settled, which to our Prejudice has been so long retarded on Account of our Variance with *Spain*, and the Effects of the Merchants in the *Flotilla* be delivered

delivered without Loss of Time.
 We also expect Satisfaction for
 the Depredations committed on
 our Merchant Ships by those
Spaniards, who acted more like
Pirates than *Guard de Costa's*.
 When these Points are brought to
 Perfection, then Hey! for *Change-
 Alley* again, quoth — Hey! Boys,
 up go we.

How agreeable soever the Exe-
 cution of this Article may be to
 the Court of Spain, I may ven-
 ture to say that the Pope will not
 relish it; *St. Peter's Successor* must
 take down *St. Peter's Arms*, which
 he lately caused to be set up in
Parma, or else the *Imperialists*,
 who consented to their being
 erected, or the *Spaniards* who
 shall find them there, will be so
 civil as to dismount them for him.
 His Holiness will find himself
 lurch'd by this Article; and tho'
 he may excommunicate and fulmi-

nate his *Anathema's* against those, who shall divest him of what he calls a Fief of the Church, yet the *Military* Power will not yield to the *Ecclesiastical*, especially in *Points* where *Temporal* Jurisdiction and *Secular* Dominion are interested; and therefore the old Gentleman may, (as the *Proverb* has it) *save his Breath to cool his Porridge*.

But how comes it to pass that the Emperor, who was so very inflexible, and plumed himself upon his *invulnerable* Attachment to the Execution of the *Quadruple Alliance* in the most literal Sense, to alter his Resolution and recede from it so suddenly? Certainly some Satisfaction or Equivalent must have been given to him, I think; or he is become so supple and tractable to prevent the Effusion of Blood, which must have happened, if he had remained as obstinate

obstinate as he appeared to be in the Beginning? If *Satisfaction* has been given, I hope it amounts to no more than a Conviction that his Honour and Dignity are not in the least diminished by his consenting to the Introduction of the 6,000 *Spaniards* into *Italy*; but if an *Equivalent* be in the Case, then, I presume, it is contained among the *Secret Articles*; and if so, I heartily wish we could come to a Knowledge of the *Equivalent*, or at least of the *Pre-tences*, by which such an *Equivalent* has been claimed. As the Emperor is a very religious and conscientious Prince, I persuade myself, and I wish I could also persuade the World to be of the same Opinion, that the only Motive which has prevailed with his Imperial Majesty to comply with the pressing Instances and hearty Desires of the Allies, was to pre-

vent the Effusion of an Ocean of Christian Blood. If this be the *Point*, then surely it must be allowed that our *Ministers* have played the *Parts* of wise *Politicians* and good *Casuists*. Some People may be apt to ask, why the Emperor did not consent sooner? Many solid Reasons may be given (as *solid* as this *Peace* seems to be) by way of Answer to this Question; but I shall take no farther Notice than to add, that many Men talk before they think.

The Fourth Article is very concise and comprehensive, specifying nothing more than that the three preceding Articles shall not be changed or altered; by which it appears that the five subsequent Articles are not under the same Restraint, and consequently may admit of some Deviation, as *Circumstances* or *Interest* may casually require.

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The Fifth Article recites, that from the 16th Day of *March*, N. S. is for ever abolished, and the Inhabitants of the *Austrian Netherlands*, shall not be permitted to establish in the *Netherlands*, or in any other Place which was formerly under the Government of K. CHARLES II. of *Spain*, and is now in the *Emperor's* Possession, any Traffick, Commerce or Navigation to the *Indies*, but yet he says, they shall be permitted, once for all to send from the Port of *Ostend* two Ships in the *Indies*, to bring home the Merchandizes, Effects, &c. which remain there; and the said Effects so brought home, freely and publickly expose to Sale.

There were two Things which we Merchants could never relish; viz. the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, which is a Nest for the *French* Privateers, and the Interloping Trade carried on by the *Ostend Company*; but as the

the latter is abolished, we hope that our Sagacious Ministry will take care of the entire Demolition of the former, if it be not already performed.

I do not find by this Article that there is any Measure of the Ships ascertained, which are to bring home the Merchandizes and other Effects from the *Indies*, or what Burthen they shall consist; and as the Company is not prohibited from sending any Goods abroad, no doubt but they will make the most of their last Stake, and load the Ships with *European* Commodities, sufficient to forestall us in our Trade to those Parts for some Years; nor do I see how we can now prevent them. Besides, no doubt is to be made but they will import more Effects than they have at present in the *Indies*, and we shall not be able to discover the Imposition; especially if it be consider'd that there is no Time limited

mitted by this Article, as it appears at present, either for sending the two Ships away, for their Return, or for the Sale of what shall be brought back. Methinks, it would not have been imprudent had these Points been specifically adjusted; for we may depend upon it, they stock their own Country, and supply their Neighbours with such Things, as they must otherwise have had from us, and be able too to undersell us. As we have no Remedy, we must patiently acquiesce, and endeavour to content ourselves with the Bargain that has been made for us, tho' I must needs say, that in my Judgment it might have been rendered more advantageous for the trading Part of this Kingdom.

By the Sixth Article, Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Antwerp* to settle the Tariff, which shall be finished within two Years.

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As it is a Piece of Prudence to guard against any Accident that may happen, at least so far as we have a clear View; how comes it to pass that no Provision is made, in case the Tariff be not settled within the Time limited? This, I think, would have been worthy Consideration; but perhaps so long Time might be designed for the *Ostend Company* to bring home their Effects.

The Article concludes with an assertion that the other Differences shall be amicably adjusted without having recourse to Arms. What those Differences are do not yet appear; they cannot be the Differences of *East Friesland*, in respect to the Claim of Prince *Nassau*, of the House of *Orange*, nor of the Misunderstanding that had subsisted between the *Imperial Court* and the *Electorate of Hanover*, about the Affairs of *Meck-*

Mecklenburgh. For there is annexed to this Treaty a Declaration, whereby they engage to put an End as soon as possible, and in a friendly way, to the first; and the last is adjusted in a Separate Treaty; so that we are likely to remain in the Dark in respect of those Differences, and must sit still lest we run our Heads against the Wall.

The Seventh relates to the Commerce of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which is to remain upon the old Foot; whereby we have this Comfort, that if we gain nothing by it, yet we do not lose any thing, but remain *in statu quo*.

The Eighth allows six Months for all Princes and States to enter into this Treaty, provided it be with the Consent of the *Contracting Powers*. N. B. Four preceding Articles, and that which follows are not specifically included

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in the *Fourth*, and therefore subject to be *changed* or *altered*. But notwithstanding the Tenor of the *Fourth Article*, there is an Exception in

The *Ninth Article*, wherein it is agreed, that the Guaranty of the *Pragmatical Sanction* does not comprehend any Obligation against the Emperor of the *Turks*.

I must ingeniously acknowledge, that when I read this last Article, it raised my drooping Spirits, and banished from my Mind those horrible *Apprehensions*, and dreadful *Ideas*, which the first Article had raised: for, said I to myself, what an unhappy *Dilemma* are we brought into, if an enterprising *Sultan* should attempt to rescue from the *Emperor's* Hands those Places which he has brought under his Jurisdiction! We are obliged by that *Primary Article* to guaranty whatever he possesses,
 or

or may hereafter possess : And if we have a Rupture with the *Turks*, who tho' they are *Infidels*, have for Number of Ages past been more punctually in adhering to their Word, and keeping their Engagements more inviolable to us, than *some Nations*, who call themselves *Christians*. But, *thought I*, if we draw our Swords against them, without any *Provocation* or *Cause of Complaint or Injury* to us in particular, what *Treatment* must our Merchants expect from them ? What will become of our Effects in those large *Territories* ? What will be the Fate of our Agents and Factors ? Or who will venture to reside there for the future ? These were some of the Reflections which I had made on the first Article of the Treaty ; and tho' I am now convinced that they were vain *Surmises*, and empty *Suggestions*, yet how empty

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and vain soever they are, I will affirm that the heaviest Part of the Burden would have fallen to our Lot, who trade to those Parts, had it not been prevented by the last mentioned Article.

Thus, Sir, I have gone thro' the several *Articles* separately, as they have been communicated to us in the *Daily Post-Boy*; and have made such cursory Remarks as have accrued in reading them.

Permit me now, Sir, to give you my Opinion of this Treaty of *Vienna* in general, which I shall deliver without *Prejudice* or *Partiality*, having nothing more at Heart than the Welfare of my Country, and consequently of my Fellow-Subjects, among whom I must principally include the trading Part of the Nation; for the Riches of this Kingdom, and the Maintenance of many thousand Families

milies depend on our *Imports* and *Exports*.

In Propriety of *Speech* this *Treaty* cannot be called a *Peace*, because we did not proclaim *War* against the Emperor, nor did his *Imperial* Majesty commit any *Hostilities*, or declare *War* against us. I allow indeed that it may be called a *Treaty* or *Convention* between some particular Potentates, in order to lay a Foundation for a *General Peace*, which has been much desired in *Europe*; and I must do Justice to our *Ministers* in this *Particular*, that they have at last with *wonderful Policy and Consideration*, hit upon the *Only Point*, that could possibly bring about the desired End. But here I must beg leave to ask, why Persons of such *Sagacity* and deep *Penetration*, did not put this Method in practice sooner? Especially since it had been demonstrated to
 them,

them, that no other *Expediency* could possibly be found. I may venture to assert, that if they had gone on in the Way that was paved for them many Months ago, it would have saved the Nation more Money, than we shall get by this *Treaty* in some Years, even allowing that all the Princes we can desire, should *cordially* come into it.

Gold may be bought at too dear a Rate, and so may a *Peace* or an Ally be procured on the like Terms; but I hope *Old England* is not to be *perpetually* a Bubble to *Europe*, or that she must always *pay the Piper*, while others *Dance*. If the *Emperor*, as it is reasonable to imagine, has had Satisfaction for the *Expences* he has been at in marching and transporting his Troops to *Italy*, and in raising Recruits, without descending to other *Particulars*;

ticulars; methinks, it would be satisfactory to the Nation to know who must reimburse those *Expences*. If we contribute toward it, which I think we ought not to do, then surely by a Parity of Reason, and in Point of Justice to ourselves, we ought to have Satisfaction made us for the Maintenance of the mercenary *Hessians*, which we have maintained in *Inactivity* for some Years.

Besides, Sir, we ought to have our *Expences* for the *Fleet* which we fitted out, and made such a fine *Raree Show* for some Months at *Spithead*; and especially for the Charge of the Squadron which we sent to the *West Indies*, tho' we acquiesce with the Loss of two Admirals, many Officers, and Hundreds of our able Seamen, who died like rotten Sheep, having perished [as it were] in Confinement. If we consider the Ships
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of War received in that Country; while they blocked up *Porto Bello*, (even tho' they were *sheathed*) and the Loss of many hundred Sailors; would not half a dozen such *tame* and *fruitless Expeditions*, lay us so open to the Invasion of any Maritime Power, that we could not prevent their *landing*, and consequently laying waste a great Part of *this Island*, even tho' they could proceed no farther?

This *Treaty* (for I cannot call it a *Peace*) is represented in the most glaring Colours, and said to be so advantageous, that will effectually silence the Clamours of those, who do not chime in with the *Ministry*, and give intire Satisfaction to all Parties. I know not any Thing that would be more acceptable to the Nation in general, than an evident Proof of these grand and important Particulars; and I wish that they,
who

who have laid them before us, have not at the same Time plac'd a *Magnifying-Glass* in our Way. Is *Dunkirk* actually demolish'd, or security given that the Harbour and Port shall be render'd useless, except for Vessels of small Burthen, and that it shall be incapable of being repair'd? Has Care been taken that the Forts, lately erected to annoy the Garrison of *Gibraltar*, or any Ships which shall enter the Bay of that Fortress, be erased? That no others shall be rais'd in or near the same Place or Places, for the Future, which shall be capable of disturbing or doing any Damage to the said Garrison, or to any Ships which shall hereafter enter into the Bay of that Fortress? Has it been stipulated and agreed that the *Spaniards* shall remove from their Camp before *Gibraltar*? That a proper District round that Garrison shall be granted by the Crown of *Spain*, and a free

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and open Trade be allow'd between *Gibraltar*, and the adjacent Countries? Is there any Provision made that the Colony of *Santa-Lucia*, in Violation of Treaties, shall be withdrawn? Is it also agreed that our *Merchants* shall receive full Satisfaction for all their past Sufferings (in which I have been a considerable Sharer) and have Liberty to exercise their undoubted Right in *Trade*, without any farther Molestation? Now, Sir, I will take upon me *boldly* to say, and I will maintain what I say, that if these Points, which are so essentially necessary to the Commerce and good of the *British* Nation, have been neglected or omitted, they will be strong Arguments of a weak Sight, Judgment and Conduct in the *Person* or *Persons*, who laid the Scheme for bringing about the *Treaty* of *Vienna*; and from hence it will follow that the *Peace* (as some call it) is not so advantageous as it
has

has been represented, nor will it silence the Clamours of *Malecontents*, or give intire Satisfaction to all *Parties*.

I took Notice before, that an Accommodation with the *Emperor* was pointed out as the only *Expediency* of returning to our old, natural *Alliance* with that Prince; and tho' the Partizans of a *Great Man* did represent his *Imperial* Majesty, in the most licentious manner, as a *Person* in whom we could place no Confidence, and made it also their Business to prove he was grown so formidable, by the natural Fluctuation of Power, that it was become the true *Interest* of *Great Britain* to humble and reduce him; yet you find that we have come into *those Measures*. I hope it will not be said that we have re-cultivated a Friendship, and renewed an Alliance with him on

account of his having grown so formidable as the Writers on the other Side the Question had represented him, for that would have been an Indignity, which would have been resented by the poorest spirited Briton; and if this be not the Case, then it is evident that the Scriblers and Hirelings, who affirmed such a Falsity, must take Shame to themselves, and their Writings are either an Imposition or Satire upon their own Patron, by whom they were undoubtedly well paid for their dirty Work.

I presume Nobody will deny but this Treaty of Vienna has been upon the Carpet for some considerable time before it was brought to a Conclusion; and how secret soever it was designed to be carried on, yet we had an account of such a Negotiation in a Letter from the Hague, which was

was communicated to the Publick in a *Weekly Paper* called the *Craftsman*, but I cannot at present mention the Number of the Paper in which it was inserted ; and tho' the *Printer* (as I have been informed) was *taken up* upon that Account, yet since it appears to be Matter of Fact, I hope he will be honourably discharged, and Satisfaction given him on account of his Expences and Sufferings.

But, Sir, admitting the *Treaty of Vienna*, or *Convention of Peace*, to be as honourable and advantageous as it has been represented, and we are willing to believe it ; what is it more than an Accommodation of the Jars, Squabbles and Differences of *Europe*, in which we had originally no material Concern, and is only a meer *Quietus to us*, after we have been at an infinite Expence, and brought our *own Interest* into imminent

minent Danger, by engaging in the Quarrels of other Princes?

Tho' Nobody can be more willing to believe that *this Treaty* hath laid a Foundation for a *General Peace*; yet it does not appear at present that any other Powers have acceded to it than those of *Great Britain*, and the *Emperor*; we hope indeed that the other Allies of *Seville* will accede to it, according to the Invitation that has been given to them, and to all other Princes; but it cannot be called a *General Peace* till they have accepted it.

If I am rightly informed, Negotiations were constantly communicated to the Allies, tho' some of them did not think fit to approve them; of which recent Instances might be given; and yet I will allow that *Separate Negotiations* (by which I mean such as are carried on at first without a general concert

concert of the Allies) may happen to conclude in a *general Treaty*, because *those Powers*, who were not consulted at first upon the Manner of *such Negotiations*, may be induced to concur in them, when They are communicated to Them. So that allowing the late *Convention at Vienna* does actually include all the Allies of *Seville*, it will be no Proof that *We* did not begin to *negotiate* there *first*.

As we make no doubt but *that* the *Dutch* will soon accede to *this Treaty*, we hope *their* Accession will be full, *without* such *Restrictions* and *Limitations* as have appeared in some former Accessions. We likewise wish *that* *France* may prove in a Disposition to concur in the *same Measures*; though, if we may presume to judge by Appearances, or give Credit to any Advices from

from Abroad, *they* do not seem to relish *them*. The present Language of *that Court* can be no Secret to any Person who has the least *Intelligence* from *thence*: Besides, our News Papers have furnished us with Accounts that Complaints have been made *there* against the Conduct of some *English Vessels*, appointed to prevent the mischievous Practice of *Owling* and *Smuggling*, which they are pleased to term *Guarde de Cotes*, alluding to the piratical Capture of our Ships by the *Spanish Guards de Costa's*; that *they* have a Design of erecting Forts along the Coast, as the *Spanish* have done about the Bay of *Gibraltar*, to check this Insolence of the *English*; and what is still more, *they* have clapt up the Master of an *English Vessel*, and some of his Men, in the Castle of *Dunkirk*, under a pretence of their having thrown
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but some Stones at *the Mouth* of *that Harbour*. I mention *these Points* only as suspicious Symptoms of some *little Uneasiness* between us; and though by a dextrous Way of Management *they* may be improved and magnified to so great a Degree as to retard the Accession of the Crown of *France* to the present *Treaty of Vienna*, yet I place so much Confidence in the *Gentlemen* at the Helm of our Affairs, that we shall not be *Bully'd* by the *French*, or compelled to purchase their Accession to the *Treaty*, which we have concluded.

But it has been said, that if we could *accommodate Matters with Spain and the Emperor*, in which *Holland* will readily concur; we can have no Reason to stand in fear of *France*. I allow *this*; but at the same time must say, it may be doubted whether we had

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not less Reason to apprehend any thing from *France* some Years ago, than *now*? And as the professed Design of the *Treaty of Seville*, I mean a *General Peace*, was obstructed by the want of our *Accession*, whether the *Treaty of Vienna* may not prove ineffectual, for want of *another*. But let *that* Case be as it will, what Glory can *some Gentlemen* take to themselves, who have at length seen the Expediency of *such a Measure*, which has been pointed to *them* for many Years together? I will not say, as some Persons have said, that they have been *shamed* and almost forced into it, by the *general Voice of the Nation*, they had persevered in *another Method*, till they found themselves unable to pursue it *any longer*.

You will observe, Sir, that I have not made any mention of *Port Mahon*, which I must needs
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own is a Place of the greatest Importance to us, as being the only Harbour in the *Mediterranean*, where we can with Safety winter our *Fleets*, if we shall have occasion to use them in those Parts, without being under any Obligation to other Countries, whether they be our Friends or stand *Neutral*; for so commodious is that Place, *that* there is Water enough for a First Rate Man of War at all times, and *Stationing* sufficient for all the *British* Navy; nor can the most boisterous Tempests annoy them, by reason that the Mountains under which they may Anchor in several Places, skreen them from the highest Winds that can blow. But I take this to be secured to us by the First Article, as we are now in Possession of that advantageous Place; for what will signify the Key (*Gibraltar*) to the Door, if we are debarred

from entering in the Chamber (*Port Mabon*) or if we relinquish or surrender, upon any Consideration whatever, that Chamber?

I beg leave to re-capitulate one Thing, which I have already touched upon, and to animate a *little* farther by way of Enlargement upon that Head; namely, that a speedy Satisfaction be given to our *Merchants* for the Losses they have sustained by the Depredations of the *Spanish Guard de Costa's*. To this I add, that I think if our *Ministers* have taken care that such like Piracies shall not be committed for the future, or if they have insisted upon and obtained Security from the Court of *Spain* for the Performance thereof, (at which that Court cannot be piqued) they have acted a prudent and political Part, and yet have done no more than their Duty required at their Hands.
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But if a Point so very essential to our Trade and Traffick has been postponed, then, I say, that — I hope Reprizals will be made, those Pirates be brought to condign Punishment, and Satisfaction be given in a speedy and effectual Manner; otherwise we must expect a Stagnation of Trade.

And tho' Merchants may act as they please, I shall take care to secure what *Little* I have, and not run the hazard of sacrificing my Estate to a Piratical Crew of *Spaniards*, who use our *English* Sailors in a more barbarous manner than they do their own Slaves,

But still, Sir, though we have no reason to doubt the Accession of *Spain* to the *Treaty of Vienna*, if the immediate Succession of *Don Carlos* to the Dominions of *Tuscany and Parma*, without Opposition, (and even granting *that* the

the *Dutchess of Parma* may not be delivered of an *Heir Male*) is to be the Price of it; yet I must take the Liberty to observe, that this seems to be a *Stipulation* made in favour of the *Queen of Spain* rather than of the *Spanish Nation*. And if his *Catholick Majesty* should *Abdicate* (as you know he has already done before) or happens to die soon after this *Treaty* takes Effect, let it be considered whether his *Successor* will think himself under any *Obligation* at all to *Great Britain* on this Account.

I must however acknowledge, and do it with Sincerity of Heart, that I think our Affairs are in the right Train at last; and I hope they will continue upon equal and honourable Terms. I therefore conclude with assuring you, that I am entirely pleased with this unexpected Turn of Affairs, every
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Thing considered, and that I have always been both in Principle and Profession, an entire Lover of the Interest of my Country, and a hearty and sincere Well-wisher to the Emperor, our long and (I hope) faithful Ally.

I remain, Sir,

Tours, &c.

